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SUPPLEMENT 1 (map)

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EVALUATION OF CONTENT

## HISTORY OF THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS IN SINKIANG

The Uighur policy of Yang Tseng-hsin (楊增新), which included freedom of religion, was clever but deceitful. It was considered to be better than the policy of Chin Shu-jen (金樹仁). Still, on the occasion of the establishment of the Chinese Republic, Nias Halfa rebelled against the provincial government. Subsequently a number of independence movements occurred during the rule of Chin Shu-jen:

1912	Ha-mi (Kumul)	Nias Halfa
1915	T'u-lu-fan (Turfan)	Ahmed
1917	K'u-ch'e (Kucha)	Muhammed Eli Khan
19 [?]	Ill <sup>1</sup>	Sadr
1923	Kashgar <sup>2</sup>	Salid

When Chin Shu-jen came to power he imprisoned the Uighur intellectuals who might lead revolts, on the excuse of their being Bolshevized. He brought in a large number of Chinese immigrants and permitted them to

<sup>1</sup>/There is no indication as to whether Ill refers to Hai-yüan (80-54, 44-00) or to Sui-ting (I-li) (80-49, 44-03). The two towns are roughly about five miles apart.

<sup>2</sup>/There is no indication as to whether Kashgar refers to Su-fu (Kashgar Kona Shahr) (75-58, 39-29) or to Su-lo (Kashgar Yangi Shahr) (76-06, 39-25). These two towns are roughly about eight miles apart.

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encroach on the interests of the Uighurs<sup>1</sup>

At the death of Shah Makhsud, the Mohammedan prince at Ha-mi,<sup>2</sup> and the succession of Nejir Khan, Chin Shu-jen summoned the new prince to Ti-hua (Urunchi) to prevent his taking part in a revolution. However, Yollbars Khan, instead of Nejir Khan, went to Ti-hua.

In February, 1931, one of the soldiers of the troops protecting the Chinese immigrants forced a Uighur girl to marry him. At the marriage ceremony the enraged tribesmen, in accordance with a pre-arranged plan, wrested weapons from the soldiers and revolted. The revolt broke out in Beglick, one of the seven districts north of Ha-mi. Sali Beg, the leader of the revolt, kept in close contact with the other six districts, and in each of these disarmed the Chinese troops.

By that time Nejir Khan had been called to Ti-hua and his 200 troops had been disbanded, their weapons being kept in the New City. The Old City was being defended by Yollbars and his some fifty men. When half of these deserted to the Revolutionary Army, Yollbars and his remaining men went to join them. In March he occupied the Old City. The New City, held by troops under Taot'ai<sup>3</sup> Chu (朱), was besieged by the rebelling troops<sup>4</sup>.

Previous to this event Hadji<sup>5</sup> Hodja Nias, of Komulo, a person of wealth and high reputation, had joined the Revolutionary Army. After achieving an overwhelming victory over the government army he was recommended to be the commander of the Mohammedan army, and Sali Beg put himself under his command. In April Nias and Sali Beg sent troops to Barköl [? Barkol] and, joined by the Kazaks of the northern mountains, captured the city.

At that time Ma Chung-ying (馬仲英), defeated in battle by Ma Pu-fang (馬步芳), escaped to the border of the province. From there he sent a message to Hodja Nias offering assistance. Despite the opposition or suspicion of a number of persons in the Revolutionary Army, Nias accepted the offer. Ma Chung-ying then lead his forces of about 1,000 men, about half of whom possessed guns<sup>6</sup>, into Sinkiang, and thus, in April, the armies of the Uighurs and T'ungkans<sup>7</sup> were united. The forces of Nias at that time were also about 1,000.

<sup>1</sup>/Sinkiang Moslems of Turkic language/

<sup>2</sup>/About 1929. Ha-mi was the last important "native state". At this time the Chinese decided to substitute direct rule.--Lattimore, Inner Asian Frontiers of China/

<sup>3</sup>/Intendant of a circuit/ (道台)

<sup>4</sup>In the autumn of 1931 Yollbars broke with Nias and went to Tunhuang (敦煌) to join Ma Chung-ying (馬仲英).

<sup>5</sup>/hadji: a Moslem who has made his hadj (pilgrimage). "Hadji" is sometimes prefixed as a title. The translation uses "Hadji" after surnames/

<sup>6</sup>/ "guns" in the translation probably means "rifles"/

<sup>7</sup>/Translation uses "Tungkans (東干)". The T'ungkans are Moslems of Chinese language/

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In July the united forces were beaten at Louon (瞭墩) [Liao-tun] and in August Ma Chung-ying returned to Kansu wounded. Nias' troops retreated into the mountains north of Ku-mi and there opposed the Ti-hua forces for over a year. [Apparently the government forces were again in control of Ti-hua].

Ti-hua sent out 10,000 troops. A part of the [rebel] troops besieging Ku-mi intercepted them and drove them back to Ch'i-chiao-ching (七角井), but the rebels gained no advantage.

In December, 1932, Ma Shih-ming (馬士明) came to Nias, saying that he had broken with Ma Chung-ying. Nias secretly sent him and Timur, of Komuo, to P'ichan (關展). At that time these two had only about thirty men each, but captured P'ichan in a surprise attack, the Uighurs of the place all siding with them. The army of Ti-hua marched on P'ichan and defeated the Revolutionary Army. Timur was killed in the battle. The rebel troops retreated to Lokchin [? Lukchun] and besieged the town.

At that time Mahmud<sup>1</sup> entered activities, at T'u-lu-fan. He organized armed forces and a secret committee of eight persons. The committee invited the Mohammedan troops at Lokchin to come to Astana to join them. These troops arrived at Astana January 1, 1933. Joining their forces and recruiting the inhabitants of the vicinity, the Mohammedans had in all about 3,000 men and 300 to 1,000 guns.

They then overthrew the government troops at Karamouja (哈拉和卓), and taking their weapons, drew near T'u-lu-fan. At that time the Old City of T'u-lu-fan was garrisoned by about 1,000 Uighurs, who went over to Mahmud's forces. Having thus captured the Old City, the rebels besieged the New City, cutting it off from Ti-hua. An army of 1,000 with impedimenta was sent from Ti-hua to P'ichan. [Apparently the rebels were besieging P'ichan at this time]. The rebel troops at T'u-lu-fan intercepted them, defeated them, and seized their arms. The New City of T'u-lu-fan at last surrendered. Thereupon the revolutionary army sent Tokhuta [? Tokhta] and his 100 men to T'o-k'o-hsün. After capturing this place he marched on to Yen-ch'i (Yen-shahr). The Uighurs along his way enlisted in his troops, bringing their total number to about 500. Tokhuta forwarded a message to the government army at Yen-ch'i, claiming to have 10,000 troops. The government troops surrendered without a fight and Tokhuta took over their weapons.

Then, using the same strategem, he demanded the surrender of the troops garrisoned at K'u-erh-lo (Koria). The K'u-erh-lo garrison had secretly been informed of the actual small number of the rebel troops and so refused to surrender. The revolutionary army defeated the garrison, commanded by Brigade Commander Chen (陳旅長) and took the city.

At the beginning of February [? 1933], Sheng Shih-ts'ai (盛世才), the commander-in-chief of the government army, came from Komuo to P'ichan with four airplanes and one tank, and raised the siege. The revolutionary army was beaten and fled to T'u-lu-fan, where they suffered another defeat. Having retreated to T'o-k'o-hsün, the rebels sent word to Yen-ch'i. Tokhta [? Tokhuta] answered the appeal by leading his whole army to T'o-k'o-hsün. Joining their forces, the rebels waged battles between T'o-k'o-hsün and T'u-lu-fan, but without success. Tokhta being killed in action, the whole army withdrew to Yen-ch'i [apparently evacuating all other cities previously taken except K'u-erh-lo]. In these battles Mahmud lead the Uighur forces and Ma Shih-ming (馬士明) headed the T'ungkan troops.

<sup>1</sup> A famous person of property and trade at T'u-lu-fan. At the outbreak of the rebellion he came into contact with Hodja Nias. He had early aimed at the independent progress and education of Uighurs, and established a school at Astana to educate the younger generation.

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In March, Timur<sup>1</sup>, an elder brother of Tokta [? Tokhta], was given 200 men and dispatched to K'u-ch'e, which he captured. Meanwhile the rebel forces arranged a joint action with the troops of Nias, which were to the north of Komulo. The united forces of Mahmud and Ma Shih-ming captured T'o-k'o-hsun from the west while the troops of Nias took P'ichang and Lokchin from the east. They then attacked T'u-lu-fan from east and west. Sheng was defeated and fled to Ti-hua. The armies of Nias and Mahmud met at T'u-lu-fan in March. Soon after this, Timur advanced from K'u-ch'e to Aksu<sup>2</sup> and captured it.

At that time Ma Chung-ying sent a message to Nias, who was at T'u-lu-fan, offering assistance again. Nias, with the objective of capturing Ti-hua, accepted. Thereupon Ma Chung-ying with about 700 troops attacked Barkul [? Barkol], in April, and capturing it, reached Mu-lei-ho<sup>3</sup>. The Uighur forces at T'u-lu-fan also came to Moli [? Mu-lei-ho], led by Mahmud and Nias. After consultation with Ma Chung-ying it was decided that Nias should attack Jim Hissar (吉薩) [Fu-yüan] and Ma Chung-ying should attack Ch'i-t'ai. Ma Chung-ying was provided 1,000 Uighur soldiers. A contract, written in Turkish [? Turkic] and Chinese was drawn up, providing that thereafter the captured weapons should be divided equally between the two armies, and that after the subjugation of Sinkiang Province by the combined forces of Mohammedans should be complete, the T'ungan troops should withdraw to Kansu.

Ma Chung-ying having besieged Ch'i-t'ai for a week, Li Hai-ju (黎海如), the commander there, surrendered with 3,000 men and 10,000 weapons. Nias, at Jim Hissar, defeated 500 troops. At that time Ma Shih-ming was defending Ta-p'an-ch'eng<sup>4</sup> [which the rebels apparently had previously captured].

After the battles, Ma Chung-ying, unfaithful to the Moli [? Mu-lei-ho] contract, sent to the Uighur army only 200 inferior guns, forming for himself an army of 10,000, equipped with the new, superior guns taken from the enemy. This completely destroyed whatever confidence the Uighur forces had in Ma and brought about friction between the two armies.

Previous to this, when Chin Shu-jeu's government had fallen in the political upheaval of April 12, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai had gained supremacy, he had sent representatives to the Uighur army proposing that if the Uighurs would break with Ma Chung-ying they would be acknowledged to control the Southern Route of the T'ien-shan (天山南路), and be provided with the arms and munitions they would require, and the Chinese army by itself would drive back Ma Chung-ying's forces and maintain a government of Chinese on the Northern Route of the T'ien-shan (天山北路). (The Uighurs of the south were opposed to these propositions).

Though Ma Chung-ying pushed troops westward to attack Ti-hua, he lost the battle at Jim Chanza, on the west of Jim Hissar, and returned to Ch'i-t'ai in June. On hearing of the defeat at Jim Chanza, Nias, who was then in the mountains south of Jim Hissar, hurried back to T'o-k'o-hsun. Ma Chung-ying went to T'u-lu-fan to reconstruct his army. Meanwhile, Nias, intending to

<sup>1</sup>Born the son of a farmer at T'o-k'o-hsun. He engaged in trade between K'u-ch'e and Yen-ph'i. He had had ambition in national affairs since his youth.

<sup>2</sup>There is no indication as to whether this refers to A-k'o-su (Ak Su Yangi Shahr) (79-56, 41-03) or to Wen-su (Ak Su Kona Shahr) (79-55, 41-15). The two towns are roughly about eight miles apart.

<sup>3</sup>Translation has "Moli River (木里河)"

<sup>4</sup>Translation has "Dawan ch'eng (達坂城)"

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advance to Kashgar, drew near Yen-ch'i and sent a messenger to the T'ungkan troops at Yen-ch'i and requested to open the way to Kashgar for them [?] requested the T'ungkans to permit passage of the Uighurs/. The T'ungkans did not accept this proposal.

The Uighur forces at K'u-ch'e, led by Hapiz Khan, (a man of princely line of K'u-ch'e, who had a very high reputation there), went to Yen-ch'i to join Mias in the attack on Ti-hua. However, they clashed with the T'ungkan troops to the west of Yen-ch'i. This was the first conflict between the T'ungkans and Uighurs. The T'ungkan troops of Yen-ch'i also broke into fighting with Mias' troops, to the east. The T'ungkans met with defeat on both sides and retreated to T'u-lu-fan, by-passing T'o-k'o-hsün. At T'u-lu-fan they joined Ma Chung-ying's forces.

After the capture of Yen-ch'i from the T'ungkans, Mias entrusted troops to Mahmud and Apis [?] Khan, and sent them eastward against Aguroiak. At about the same time, in July, Ma Shih-ming's troops at Daman Chen [?] Ta-pan-ch'eng/ came to T'o-k'o-hsün, and at Ma Chung-ying's order put down the Uighurs at Suashu, a place between T'o-k'o-hsün and Aguroiak, and routed them to Yen-ch'i.

During the next two months the Uighur army fought against the T'ungkan troops under Ma Fu-yuan (馬福元) in the neighborhood of Yen-ch'i and K'u-erh-lo. The Uighurs abandoned Yen-ch'i and withdrew to K'u-ch'e, in September. K'u-ch'e also fell, and they drew back to Aksu. There they reorganized their army and turned to counterattack. At the beginning of October Mahmud's troops recovered K'u-ch'e. As the T'ungkan forces retreated to Yen-ch'i, the Uighur forces captured K'u-erh-lo also, and fought in the Bashu Argin Mountains between K'u-erh-lo and Yen-ch'i.

At the beginning of February, 1933, Sabid-qa-mulla<sup>1</sup> attacked the troops garrisoned at Kara Kasni [?] Mo-yü (Kara Kasn), northwest of Khotan, and seized the city. Then he captured Khotan after twenty days' fighting, and went on carrying one after the other of the enemy's positions at Lop, Yü-tien (Keriya) and Miya Bazar. At that time the Uighurs at Ch'ien-mo (Charchan Bazar) also rose in revolt, and joined him. Sabid established a provisional government at Khotan.

Ma Shao-wu (馬紹武), the Taot'ai of Kashgar, sent a punitive force to P'i-shan (Guma Bazar), in March, but it was beaten by the Uighur troops of Shah Mansur of Khotan, and retreated to Yen-ch'eng (Karghalik). Yen-ch'eng also was captured, and the force fled to Yarkand.

At that time, Timur, who was at Aksu, went to attack Pa-ch'u (Marai Bashi), and at Tunshak [between Aksu and Pa-ch'u] fought a battle that continued for a month. Yang (楊), [commander of the government forces], was defeated and withdrew.

<sup>1</sup> A man of high intellect, born at Artushi, north of Kashgar, and educated at Kashgar. He had emotion in both religious and political affairs. Before the rebellion he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, through Russia. In India, on the way back, he heard of the outbreak of the rebellion and hurried back to Khotan, about August, 1932. He formed a secret committee at Karakasni [?] Mo-yü (Kara Kasn), northwest of Khotan, and calling his followers together, urged revolution.

<sup>2</sup> There is no indication as to whether this refers to Yen-ern-ch'iang (Yarkand) or to So-ch'e, one mile to the west, which is sometimes called Yarkand.

Taot'ai Ma (馬) made Osman, a Kirgis [? kirghiz] chief, form an army of 500 Kirgis men in the northern mountains, and dispatched them to Sunukarol (中哈拉) [? Chung-ha-la] under a T'ungkan commander, Ch'ien Te-hsing (陳德馨). Osman, however, secretly communicated with Timur and murdered the T'ungkan officer, in April. Recruiting the nearby Kirgis tribesmen, who possessed weapons, he formed an army of 1,000 and marched into Artushi. The inhabitants of the vicinities all submitted to them.

Timur captured Pa-ch'u. Commander Yang was wounded and captured, and his troops were routed to Kashgar.

[At this point the government forces held two principal strongholds: one at Ti-hua and one in the Kashgar-Yarkand region. The Uighurs held the towns between K'u-erh-lo and Pa-ch'u and between Ch'ien-go and Yen-ch'eng. The T'ungkans held T'u-lu-fan, T'o-k'o-hsun and Yen-ch'i.]

Timur now advanced to Peijabat (伽師) [? Faizabad (Chia-shih)]. The Kirgis-Uighur troops of Osman received him, and committing themselves under Timur, opened an attack on Kashgar. In spite of Taot'ai Ma's defending the Old City with his 500 men, the city fell after two hours' fighting. The Revolutionary Army seized the weapons of the government troops. On the following day Timur entered this walled city and undertook to keep peace and order.

Two or three days later Ma Shan-ts'ang<sup>1</sup> (馬占倉), came to Kashgar. He tried to put Ma Shao-wu back into the position of Taot'ai. Although Timur advocated cooperation with the T'ungkans, the Uighurs, who hated Ma Shao-wu, opposed the idea. Osman's men also would not agree, and on Osman's order fought and beat Ma Shan-ts'ang after a brief skirmish.

Timur acted as mediator, and installed Ma Shan-ts'ang in the New City [of Kashgar] and the Uighur troops in the Old City. Ma Shao-wu was held in confinement outside the Old City, and was watched over by Uighur soldiers. Yunus Beg (郁文彬), of T'u-lu-fan, was appointed the new Taot'ai. Then the leaders of the Uighurs at Kashgar elected Timur a lieutenant-general (中將) and Osman a brigade commander (旅長).

Meanwhile, in April, the Uighur troops at Khotan had advanced to Yarkand, and capturing the Old City, enveloped the New City. The 1,000 government troops asked Timur's mercy, offering submission.

At the beginning of May Timur sent 1,000 troops to Ying-chi-sha (Yangi Bissar). Shah Mansur, on Timur's order, opened the way<sup>2</sup> and the government troops of Yarkand, accompanied by their families, and the soldiers who had fled from Khotan, making their way toward Ying-chi-sha, reached Kizil [? Kizil Bazar]. Shah Mansur's troops, about 500 strong, followed them.

At Kizil Timur's troops demanded that the government troops surrender their weapons. The government troops refused and tried to force their way to Kashgar. But they were surrounded by the Uighur forces, and in a four days' battle were utterly annihilated.

<sup>1</sup> Previously a general under Ma Chung-ying. He was one of the thirty men who with Ma Shih-ming had separated from Ma Chung-ying. He was sent by Ma Shih-ming to Aksu to join Timur. He arrived there in March. The Old City of Aksu was defended by Ismael. Brigade Commander Ma (馬旅長), of the T'ungkan troops, was in the New City [of Aksu].

<sup>2</sup> i.e., Timur ordered Shah Mansur to allow the government troops to proceed from Yarkand to Ying-chi-sha.

In June, Sabid-da-Mulla, intending to go to Kashgar, sent a message to Timur. Despite Timur's opposition, Sabid came up to Ying-chi-sna, as did Shah Mansur as well. Timur admitted them into Kashgar. They reached an agreement to disarm the T'ungkan troops first, and then fall upon Yen-ch'i. (Sabid-da-Mulla stuck to the last to the principle of racial unity of Uighurs).<sup>1</sup>

Sabid's troops entered Kashgar and undertook the disarmament of the T'ungkans. Still, Timur interfered, insisting that they should have confidence in the T'ungkans, and that no trouble could occur even if the T'ungkans were sent to Yen-ch'i still possessed of weapons. Sabid was not reconciled to this idea. One night at the beginning of July Timur seized Sabid-da-Mulla, disarmed his Kirgis-Uighur troops, and held Sabid and Shah Mansur in custody.

Meanwhile, (end of July), atrocities committed by Osman's soldiers had caused discord between Timur and Osman, and Osman, with his troops, escaped to the mountains. When Timur was about to dispatch troops to Langer [?] to suppress them, Ma Chan-ts'ang telephoned offering aid, which Timur accepted. On the morning of the departure of the T'ungkan forces [from Kashgar] Timur drove to Langer, and on his way back encountered about 300 troops under Han Menza, one of Ma Chan-ts'ang's under-officers. The T'ungkans shot down Timur and three of the men with him, the other two escaping.

The T'ungkan troops turned back and entered the Old City [of Kashgar] (at the beginning of August). Ma Chan-ts'ang's troops in the New City also pushed into the Old City and occupied a half of the city. But Timur's troops held the other half and continued resistance. Ma Chan-ts'ang sent a message to Osman and asked him to return. Osman and his troops entered the Old City, and Ma Chan-ts'ang received them cordially. Osman demanded to stay in the Old City as before, the T'ungkan troops to defend the New City. Ma Chan-ts'ang would not consent and a battle ensued. After two or three days Osman had killed about 300 T'ungkans, and made the rest retreat to the New City. Then Timur's troops at Langer [?] returned to the Old City, and electing Osman commander, besieged the New City.

Previous to this, at the death of Timur, Shah Mansur and Sabid-da-Mulla had escaped from confinement, and been hiding in the suburbs. Now, Sabid came back to the Old City and joined with Osman. Shah Mansur went to Yarkand, where he secretly induced the Khotan troops of Yeh-ch'eng, led by his brother, Nur Ahmed, to attack Timur's troops, under the command of Napiz, at Yarkand. Timur's troops returned to Kashgar, and putting themselves under Osman, assaulted the T'ungkan troops in the New City.

At that time Sabid, with Osman's permission, organized a body under the pretext of supporting Kashgar with the Khotan troops. But this group, in fact, was intended to be the nucleus of the independence movement. The group having expanded and become powerful, Sabid proposed to Osman the establishment of an independent government. Osman, afraid of losing his position, would not consent. Sabid secretly sent a message to Hodja Nias, who was at Aksu, and proposed to set up the independent government. Nias agreed to this. Thereupon the preparations for independence were rapidly advanced.

<sup>1</sup>At the beginning of May, Bay [?] came to Kashgar from Aksu and reported the disarmament of the T'ungkan troops at Aksu by Ismael. He also handed Timur a written order from Nias, directing that disarmament of the T'ungkan troops should be performed at Kashgar also. Timur did not obey, insisting that it was not the right time for that.

<sup>2</sup>Yakube [?] Yakubi reached Aksu in the end of July, leading 500 of Timur's troops. But there he received a message from Osman, telling of the death of Timur, and returned to Kashgar at the beginning of August.

Sabid, moreover, won over all of the important elements under Osman to join the committee. Osman, completely isolated, permanently retired into the mountains with his some 300 soldiers, saying that he would take a rest in his old home<sup>1</sup>.

November 14, 1933, the establishment of the Independent Government at Kashgar was declared, and the new country was named the East Turkestan Republic. The more important officials were as follows:

President	Hadji Hodja Nias
Premier	Sabid-da-Mulla
Home Minister	Yurus Bey [? Beg]
Foreign Minister	Hadji Khasin (Khotan)
War Minister	Oruz [? Beg] (one of Osman's under-officers,
Chief of Staff	Mahmud [who remained behind])
Minister of Justice	Hadji Zirip Khari
Minister of Finance	Eli Bai
Minister of Education	Abdu Kerim Mandum

The siege of the New City [of Kashgar] was continued.

In October of this year Hodja Nias, who was at Aksu, negotiated with the Soviet Union and obtained weapons. Previous to this, Mahmud, who was at P'u-erh-lo, had fought against Ma Fu-yüan (馬福元) at Bashi Argint to the north, and had lost the battle. At the beginning of September he came to Aksu, and in October waged another battle against Ma Fu-yüan at K'u-ch'e, using the newly obtained Russian weapons. But he was not successful and withdrew to Aksu.

In November the T'ungkan army advanced to Pai-ch'eng (拜城). Ismael was killed in the battle at Kara Yulgun, and his forces retreated to aksu. The T'ungkans pursued them to the neighborhood of Aksu and crushed the Uighur troops there. Mahmud and Nias fell back on Ushih (烏什) [? Wu-shih (Uch Turfan)], and here again were beaten, and came to Kashgar at the end of December. United with the Uighur troops there they besieged the New City.

At about the same time the Uighur troops of Pa-ch'u were overthrown by Ma Fu-yüing [? Ma Fu-yüan] from aksu, and came to Peizawat [? Faizabad]. There the reinforcement from Kashgar arrived, and they waged another fight against Ma Fu-yüan. But again they were defeated and withdrew into the Old City of Kashgar.

[At this point the T'ungkans controlled the towns along the road from Tu-lu-fan to Kashgar (New City) and the Uighurs controlled the towns along the road from Ch'ieh-mo to Kashgar (Old City). The government forces held the region of Ti-hua].

In February, 1934, Ma Fu-yüing [? Ma Fu-yüan] entered the New City and joined with Ma Chan-ts'ang's forces. At this, confusion and disturbance developed in the Independent Government, caused by antagonism between Sabid-da-Mulla, insisting on the independence of the Uighur tribes, and Nias and Mahmud, the advocates of the recognition of Chinese sovereignty.

Previous to this Ma Chung-ying [commanding T'ungkan forces] subjugated west and south of Ti-hua. Chang P'ei-yüan (張培元), of Ili, while pretending to be faithful to Sheng Shin-ts'ai (盛世才), formed new forces and coming to Ku-su, plotted to rebel against Sheng.

<sup>1</sup>Osman was later captured, and imprisoned at Yarkand, but escaped back to the mountains.



January 1, 1934, the reinforcements from the Soviet Union<sup>1</sup> advanced into Sinkiang, passing Altai [Ch'eng-hua], Charchak [? T'a-ch'eng] and Ili. Chang, defeated at Wu-su, fled and committed suicide. The remaining troops returned to Ili and submitted to the Soviet forces, which had come in under the false name of White Russian troops.

Rendering assistance to Sheng, the Soviet troops from Charchak and Altai sent out airplanes and obtained an overwhelming victory over Ma Chung-ying. Ma Chung-ying reached Yen-ch'i, passing Dawan ch'eng [? Ta-pan-ch'eng] and T'o-k'o-hsün. Yollbars left Ma in the neighborhood of Ti-hua and fled to Komul [? Ha-mi (Kumul)] through T'u-lu-fan and Pichan [? P'ichan].

The government army came to T'u-lu-fan and pursuing Ma Chung-ying westward fought at Yen-ch'i. Ma Shih-ming died in action, and Ma Chung-ying entered Kashgar in April.

Within the independent government of the East Turkestan Republic, while Sabid-da-Mulla insisted upon defending the Old City [of Kashgar] to the death, Mahmud and Nias wanted to quit the Old City for the time being, withdraw to Ying-chi-sha, and plan a second uprising. These two at last withdrew to Ying-chi-sha and there joined the Khotan forces that had been fighting the T'ungkan troops of the New City of Kashgar. Sabid and all other important members now had no recourse but to withdraw to Ying-chi-sha. The T'ungkan troops in the New City [of Kashgar] entered the Old City without a fight. At that time Mahmud and Nias had already withdrawn to Yarkand. Sabid, in the middle of February, gathered the troops scattered in the vicinity of Ying-chi-sha, and attacked Kashgar. Though he recaptured the Old City he lost it again after two days, and was beaten back to Ying-chi-sha.

Meanwhile, Hodja Nias, at Yarkand, set out toward Ulughchat [Chat], near the border, to consult with the Soviets. When he and Mahmud reached Peizabat [? Faizabad], in March, they encountered the T'ungkan forces. Mahmud engaged them in battle while Nias safely arrived at Ulughchat.

At that time, the T'ungkan troops of Kashgar besieged the New City of Ying-chi-sha, held by the Khotan troops under Nurahmed [? Nur Ahmed]. Mahmud withdrew from battle at Peizawat and turned to help defend Ying-chi-sha. The T'ungkans, falsely using the name of Shah Mansur, advised Nurahmed to surrender the city, but he refused. Shah Mansur, an elder brother of Nurahmed, came from Yarkand to Ying-chi-sha, but fell in the fighting. After a battle of twenty days Nurahmed and his 1,000 men were annihilated, and the New City fell into the hands of the T'ungkans. Then, in the end of March, the Old City also was carried by the T'ungkan forces. Mahmud continued fighting in the south.

When Nias reached Ulughchat, Sabid-da-Mulla sent Yakube to him, and himself went to Yarkand. Coinciding with Nias' arrival at Ulughchat, Hadji Masul [? Masul], Mahmud's brother, whom Nias had sent from Aksu to Tashkent in September, 1933, to entreat assistance from the Soviet Union, also came back to the place. Nias dispatched Yakube and Hadji Ahmed Kul from the border town of Irkeshtam to the Soviet Union and asked for weapons. The Soviet army replied that it was helping the Ti-hua government, saying:

<sup>1</sup>/No previous reference was made to the coming of Soviet reinforcements. Although the Soviets had previously supplied Nias with weapons, they now appear aiding the government forces. See page 12 for reference to apparently the same Soviet entry into Sinkiang.

"The Uighur army should first put itself under the command of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, as is stated in the Jim Hissar contract. Then the Soviet army will help to overthrow the T'ungkan army, and the government army will return to Ti-hua. Now the government army has already reached Yen-ch'i. This, Hadji Masul [? Mosul] also knows. Nias and his associates should quickly arrest the heads of the Independent Government, and surrender them at Aksu."

At the beginning of April, Yakubi, on returning to Ying-chi-sha, met Mahmud. Two or three days later Nias, with his troops, and Hadji Mosul, also arrived at Ying-chi-sha. When the group reached Yarkand the members of the Independent Government held a lively discussion, without coming to any agreement. The Southern Independence Party, who were from the first opposed to the Jim Hissar contract, obstinately insisted on fighting to the last man. Thereupon, Nias [who had decided to accept the Soviet proposition] arrested the Minister of Public Health, the Minister of Justice and [sentence not completed]

Sabid-da-Mulla, who was in the suburbs, was seized by Mahmud, who had come to Yarkand after the defeat at Ying-chi-sha. Thus the Independent Government of the Eastern Turkestan Republic came to an end.<sup>1</sup>

Mahmud and Nias met at Igarchi, and decided to go to Aksu. Leading all their forces, and bringing the four prisoners [Sabid, the two ministers, and ?], they reached Kerkit (麥蓋提) [Merket Bazar] (in the middle of April.)

At that time the T'ungkan forces came to Yarkand, and turned to attack Merkit. Nias fell back on Aksu fighting, and joined hands with the government army from Ti-hua and the Red and White Russian troops [which by now had apparently advanced from Yen-ch'i westward to Aksu]. This was at the beginning of May. The Commander-in-chief of the Russian Army [sic] was Buktiov (Bykmoob), and the adviser was Chirnishev of the Red Army.

By this time the T'ungkan forces had already advanced to Yeh-ch'eng on the south and to Pa-ch'u on the east, and had completed preparations for war. As for the Khotan troops, Muhamed Amin, Muhamed's brother, replaced Uruz Beg as war Minister, and marched to Guma (皮山) [Pi-shan (Guma Bazar)]. [It is not clear whether this force was holding out for independence, or, like the rest of the Uighur forces, was now cooperating with the Ti-hua government].

At the end of June, Ma Chung-ying had a talk with the Soviet consul at Kashgar, and fled into Soviet territory. Ma Hu-san (馬胡三), leading the remaining forces, routed the Khotan troops into the mountains, and entered the city of Khotan. Muhamed Amin escaped to India.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai made Hodja Nias the vice-superintendent, and sent him to Ti-hua. Mahmud, at the beginning of July, came to Pa-ch'u, with the Chinese, Russian and Uighur armies. As the T'ungkan forces of Kashgar were all at Yarkand, Mahmud entered Kashgar without a fight, and ordered Palat Beg to march on Yarkand with 500 troops. The T'ungkan troops retreated to Yeh-ch'eng without resistance, and Palat Beg occupied Yarkand.

Then, according to the promise made at the time of Ma Chung-ying's flight into the Soviet Union, the T'ungkan troops withdrew to the east of Yeh-ch'eng, and the Uighur troops, on orders from Ti-hua, halted at Yarkand. Here the spheres of influence were fixed for the time being, in August. This was due to the policy of the Soviet Union.

<sup>1</sup> Uluz (Uruz ?) Beg fled to the northern mountains.

The Red Army soldiers, pretending to be White Russians, mixed with the White Russian Army, and after the war was over, killed its leading members one by one, and gained control of the White Russian Army. The Red Army returned to Soviet Russia through Shtulpan, and about 500 White Russian troops at Pa-ch'u were put under the command of Chirnishev of the Red Army.

Part of the Ti-hua troops were left at Aksu, and the rest withdrew. At Kashgar about 500 troops from the North East provinces, with Liu Pin (劉斌) as commander, occupied the New City, while the Old City was defended by about 4,000 troops under Mahmud. Repark of the Red Army became the military adviser. Mallikov, a Soviet, was the adviser of Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

### Progress of the War in the North

The account now goes back to May, 1933, and describes the action which took place in the north.

At the end of May, 1933, Ma Chung-ying having captured Guch'eng [? Ch'i-t'ai], consulted Nias and sent to Altai<sup>1</sup> fifty T'ungkan soldiers under Ma Hei-ying (馬黑鷹), and fifty Uighurs under Ahmed. At Sarsumba (察爾汗) [? Ch'eng-hua]<sup>2</sup> they sent a message to the Taot'ai demanding surrender. The Taot'ai sent two Uighurs as representatives to learn the enemy's intentions, and commissioned two Solons to spy out the strength of the enemy. The Uighurs reported the forces of Ma Hei-ying and Ahmed to be 10,000, but the Solons declared that this was false, that there were no more than 100 soldiers with guns plus 100 Kazaks of the neighborhood joined to them. The Taot'ai executed the two Uighurs and made preparations for war. But as the news of the political upheaval of July and of the flight of Chin Shu-jen reached the Taot'ai, he fled to Ti-hua<sup>3</sup>. The Mohammedan troops were ignorant of this, and had been waiting outside the city for fifteen days, when the Uighurs in the town organized a self defense corps of the traders and invited in the forces outside the city. The Mohammedans entered the town, in July, and for about a month reconstructed their army.

In August, Shilip Khan, a leading figure of the Altai Kazak [? Kazaks], was, with his troops, silently watching the course of events, in the mountains west of Sarsumba [? Ch'eng-hua]. The Revolutionary Army sent a messenger to him, telling of their intention to be in action at Charchak [? T'a-ch'eng]<sup>4</sup>, and asking him to come and join them. Shilip Khan's reply was that though he would not take an active part in the project,

<sup>1</sup>/U. S. Dept. of the Interior Board on Geographical Names, Decision List No. 4513, April 1945, directs the use of Ch'eng-hua with no reference to Altai. Possibly the Altai region is here referred to.

<sup>2</sup>/The characters read Ch'eng-hua. This is probably the city of Ch'eng-hua, which is sometimes referred to as Sharasume.

<sup>3</sup>/On page 4 it is stated that Chin Shu-jen's government fell April 12.

<sup>4</sup>/The next reference to Charchak includes the characters 塔城, which read T'a-ch'eng. Charchak probably refers to T'a-ch'eng, sometimes called Chuguchak.

he would do nothing to the disadvantage of the rebels. Then the Revolutionary Army left only 200 men at Sarsumba [?] Ch'eng-hua and the remaining troops, 3,000 strong, reached Kobuk (渴布克) [?]. One half of these were the T'ungkan troops under Ma Hei-ying, and the other half the united forces of Uighurs and Kazaks.

After this, in August, Shilip Khan entered Sarsumba, where a small number of Kazak soldiers were garrisoned, and in conformity with the agreement with the Revolutionary Army, administered the town. He then sent a messenger to Nias at Yen-ch'i, and decided to take part in the revolution.

At Kobuk there was a prince of Torgut Mongol [?] Mongols with his 500 cavalry. He sent Bakur Jan to the Revolutionary Army, offering guns and horses in exchange for 200 men. The Revolutionary Army entered Kobuk and the prince supplied it with 500 guns and 500 horses.

Then, from Kobuk, the army reached Durbinjin (額敏)<sup>1</sup>, when the Taot'ai at Charchak [?] T'a-ch'eng dispatched 500 troops to join with the troops at Durbinjin [sic] in the fight against the rebels. The Revolutionary Army gained an overwhelming victory, and annihilated the refugee troops from the northeast, under Chang (張), and occupied Durbinjin (at the beginning of September). Chang escaped to Charchak (in September) where he, Shu [?] and the troops of Chinese and White Russians, shut themselves up in the New City. The Uighur merchants of the Old City sent seven delegates and welcomed the Revolutionary Army. On this, the Revolutionary Army entered the Old City, and establishing a new government, commissioned a new Taot'ai. After three days they besieged the New City, and sent a Tatar messenger to advise surrender. The troops of the New City murdered the messenger and fighting commenced. At that time the Revolutionary Army there had 5,000 men and 3,000 guns, but ammunition was scarce. The government army had 2,000 men, half of whom were Chinese and Solons and the other half White Russians. After four days' fighting, the government army proposed to surrender on the following day. The White Russians alone opposed this decision. Just at that time, the reinforcements arrived both from Ti-hua and the Soviet Union. The strength of the Ti-hua troops was about 1,500 men. The Revolutionary Army planned to attack them, after once letting them enter the New City. The Soviet forces of about 200 troops defeated the Revolutionary Army and occupied the New City. The Mohammedan troops, having once withdrawn into the Old City, intended to besiege the New City on the following day. On that morning, however, the forces of the New City came out to besiege the Old City. After a days' battle, though Kherovskii (Херовский), the White Russian commander, was killed, the Revolutionary Army was beaten, and separated into three groups. One group escaped to Kobuk [?] Kobuk, one to Ti-hua, and the third to Ili (end of September).

At the beginning of October the troops which had escaped to Ti-hua, led by Ma Hei-ying, captured Wu-su, but the troops at Charchak pursued them and recovered Wu-su. Ma reached Manas [?] Manass, where he was attacked by the forces from Charchak and the government forces from Ti-hua.

<sup>1</sup>TM 30-487, Japanese Readings for Chinese Place Names, lists a Tu-erh-po-t'e-chen (杜爾伯特鎮) at 83-38, 46-35. A.M.S. 1405, sheet 44, shows a 都爾班津 (Durb81jin) at 33-45, 46-35, and a 額敏 (O-min) at 83-28, 46-31/

<sup>2</sup>See page 9, which states that the date of Soviet entry was January 1, 1934/

Ma, being defeated, fled into the northern mountains, and joined with Kazak forces there. The Kazak troops, on learning of the clash between Hodja Nias and Ma Chung-ying, killed Ma Hei-ying and confiscated the weapons of his troops.

The troops which had fled to Kobuk were led by Ahmed. They defended Altai [? region] together with Shilip Khan of Sarsumba [? Ch'eng-hua].

The 200 men who had gone to Ili hid their guns in peasants' houses and entered Ili disguised as traders. There they got certificates and after three months, stole out of the city. In the end of November they came to Aksu to commit themselves to the command of Nias.

The Old City of Charchak was occupied by the government army, and wealthy Uighurs were murdered, and their properties confiscated.

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In August, 1934, in southern Sinkiang, after the stabilization of the spheres of influence, Mahmud centered his efforts on the promotion of education. But there was a tendency to incline to "left" under the influence of Ti-hua. Ma Hu-san supervised the districts between Yeh-ch'eng and Ch'ieh-mo, and kept a position of semi-independence.

Of Sabid-da-Mulla and the other three prisoners, two escaped and fled to India. Sabid and Hadji Zirip Khari, the Minister of Justice, were delivered to the Ti-hua government. The Minister of Justice died of disease. Sabid was put into prison. In 1935 the Uighurs of the north entreated his release, but it was refused.

500 Chinese troops were garrisoned at Kashgar, 500 at Aksu, and 1,000 at Yen-ch'i. The Uighurs, occupying most of the important positions in the government, endeavored to awaken the racial consciousness [of the Uighurs]. The Ti-hua government, alarmed at this step, after 1936 began to put Chinese officers in the important posts as advisers. Mahmud, who had inwardly been regretting the compromise with the Ti-hua government, and had been secretly making preparations for the Independence Movement, now protested the oppressive policy of Ti-hua.

Early in 1937 the provincial government summoned Mahmud [Mahmud] to Ti-hua, on the pretext of settling the problem. Mahmud, while feigning compliance with the command, planned with his confederates to flee to India and ask assistance from Japan. In April Mahmud and Hadji Mosul went to Ying-chi-sha with twenty soldiers. Of the 700 troops garrisoned there, they left 200 as rear guards and led 500 to Kokurabat, west of Yarkand. From there they sent the forces of Yarkand to Pasgan [? Posgan] to restrain the T'ungkan army. While the T'ungkan troops of Yeh-ch'eng were confronting these forces of Yarkand, Mahmud and Mosul stole their way through the mountains to Kukiya [Kokyar], south of Yeh-ch'eng. There Mahmud admonished his soldiers to bide their time, avoiding any conflicts, until he should return and again fight for independence. After sending them back to their respective stations, he went into the mountains with his seventeen confederates and twenty soldiers. When they reached Meli-ksha (馬力克薩), he sent the twenty soldiers back, and entered India with his seventeen confederates.

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Disregarding Mahmud's admonition, the soldiers who were sent back from Kukiya incorporated the soldiers of the vicinity, bringing their total number to 2,000. Being afraid of the dangers in returning to Kashgar, they wanted to remain at Yarkand, and made Abd Nias the provisional commander to take Mahmud's place. Meanwhile, by order of Ti-hua, Korban<sup>1</sup> was put over the 2,000 of Mahmud's troops left at Kashgar. Thus Mahmud's army came to be divided in two.

At that time the foreign minister and the finance minister of Ti-hua came to Kashgar as representatives, to investigate the causes of Mahmud's flight and to pacify the Uighurs. These two ministers sent two Uighurs to Kashgar [?] to inquire about the soldiers of Yarkand. The soldiers of Yarkand sent Yakubi and Abd-da-Mulla with them as representatives. These four entered the New City of Kashgar in a motorcar, passing Ying-chi-sha guarded by Kashgar troops. On April 20 they met Liu Pin (刘品斌), the Taot'ai. The demands of the Yarkand troops were to hold the four prefectures of Merkit, the Old and New Cities of Yarkand, and Posgam. Liu Pin, with feigned cordiality, promised to forward their demands to Ti-hua, and in the meantime let them lodge at the military camp in the Old City. They stayed in the Old City for a week, and during that time held conference with the leading figures of Kashgar. But they [the Kashgar leaders] were opposed to their [Mahmud's troops] concentrating in Yarkand. The reply from Ti-hua also asked Korban to come to Kashgar and take the post formerly occupied by Mahmud [?].

At the beginning of May the two envoys returned to Yarkand, with two other delegates from Kashgar. Abd Nias was not satisfied with the reply they brought back.

Previous to this, Ma Hu-san had sent a messenger to Yarkand, and proposed to wage war with Abd Nias against the Ti-hua government. Dissatisfaction with the reply from Ti-hua drove Abd Nias into alliance with the T'ungkans troops, and he held the two delegates from Kashgar in confinement. On May 15 he invited Ma Hu-san to Posgam and consulted with him. It was decided that keeping secret the alliance of the troops of T'ungkans and Uighurs, they would capture Kashgar.

On May 26, according to the agreement, the T'ungkans sent out 1,000 troops, and 2,000 Uighur troops joined them. Besides these, there were 1,000 Uighur soldiers without guns. The whole army of 4,000 was divided into two [?] forces. One force was to strike at Ying-chi-sha, and the other was to march straight on the Old City of Kashgar. They started on the night of May 26. One group captured Ying-chi-sha on the 23th, and reached the New City on the night of the 29th. The other took a roundabout way to eastward and arrived at the Old City on the night of the 29th. Another force took Peizawat [?] Faizabad on the 23th, and still another force was sent and occupied Pa-ch'u.

In the Old and New Cities of Kashgar battle raged from May 30 to the first of June (1937). Khotan-Yarkand troops captured the Old City and encircled the military camp of Mahmud. Then the Soviet consul acted as mediator and brought the Uighur troops in the Old City into the New City. The Yarkand troops opened the way for them, and themselves occupied the Old City.

At that time 2,000 Ti-hua troops were reported to have reached Pa-ch'u. On June 6 Abd Nias, leading almost all of his forces, went to face them.

<sup>1</sup>A chief staff officer and a cousin of Mahmud. Korban received military education at Tashkent.

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At Kashgar [?] the Ti-hua troops shut themselves in the New City. After fighting about twenty days the besieging army advised surrender. The troops in the city asked one day's grace, and after suspension of battle for a day, they opened the gate and fled to Aksu in motorcars (end of July). Abd Nias pursued them to Aksu. 500 of his 3,000 troops were T'ungkans. On the way Nias' troops captured four cars and brought down two airplanes. After capturing Ushtulpan (烏什) [?] Wu-shih (Uch Turfan) and Ahbot (阿瓦提), they stood opposed to the government army on both sides of the Ak Su Darya.

At that time Ma Hu-san, with about 3,000 troops, came to Kashgar. He stationed 1,000 troops at Peizawat, 1,000 in the Old City [?] of Kashgar and besieged the New City with the remaining 1,000, while he himself was travelling back and forth between Kashgar and Yarkand. The cases of pillage and plunder by the T'ungkan soldiers occurred during this time.

At the beginning of August Abd Nias crossed the river [Ak Su Darya] and captured a half of the Old City of Wen-su (Ak Su Kona Shahr), and attacked the airfield. But he was defeated and withdrew to the west side of the river, and reached Ushtulpan, where he was beaten again and retreated to Ahbad. He sent a force of 500 to K'u-ch'e by a roundabout way to the south, and siezed the four prefectures of Bai [?] Pai-ch'eng, K'u-ch'e, Shayar [Sha-ya (Shahyar)], and Lun-t'ai (Bugur Bazar). But troops arrived from Ti-hua and regained Lun-t'ai, K'u-ch'e, and Bai, and joined the troops of Aksu. The Uighur troops held out at Shayar (沙雅) and recaptured the three lost prefectures.

Among the troops of Peizawat there was a Brigade Commander Ma (馬旅長), who had previously been to Moscow from Khotan, and had studied there for a year. He was then secretly in touch with the Soviet consul at Kashgar, and betrayed Ma Hu-san.

At the end of August the Soviet forces from Kara Kul came to Aksu, by way of Ushih (烏什) [?] Wu-shih. There joining with the Ti-hua troops, they fought a severe battle at Aksu, on September 6. Four airplanes and two tanks were sent out. On the 7th the Uighur troops fell back defeated.

On the same day, 1,000 Soviet cavalry troops came from Atbashi to Peizawat, and gave aid to Brigade Commander Ma. Brigade Commander Ma attacked the T'ungkan troops in the Old City of Kashgar. One half of the Soviet forces made for Pa-ch'u and the other half for Ying-chi-sha. The T'ungkan troops of the Old City withdrew toward Ying-chi-sha, but the Soviet troops stopped them and brought them very near to extermination.

Meanwhile, the Uighur troops at Wen-su, when they fled and reached the neighborhood of Pa-ch'u, learned that the Soviet troops had already advanced to the place. Trying to reach Khotan, the Uighurs came to Merkit [Merkit Bazar] September 15. From there they dispatched a man to Yarkand for information. According to his report, the Soviet troops that had routed the remnants of the T'ungkan troops from Ying-chi-sha to Yarkand had already occupied the city on September 12. The Soviet troops came out to fight Abd Nias' forces at Bayajigita. The Uighur troops, beaten by the Soviets, went into the Takla Makan Desert on September 15, and nothing has been heard of them since.

The Soviet forces advanced to Yeh-ch'eng, and defeating the T'ungkan troops there, drove them back to Khotan, where most of the T'ungkans were killed by bombing.

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Ma Hu-san (馬虎三)<sup>1</sup>, about September 10, before the entry of the Soviet forces into Yarkand, had escaped to India with his family and 100 soldiers. The remnants of the T'ungkan troops, which had been beaten at Khotan, 800 men, led by Ma Fu-yüan, fled to Ch'inghai (青海). The Uighur troops which had remained at Shayar also escaped to Ch'inghai.

Thus, in the middle of October, the Soviet army, having pacified southern Sinkiang, returned to its homeland, and the Ti-hua government began whole-sale suppression and executed one after the other of the members of the revolutionary party. The report reached India that Hodja Nias' plot in connection with the secret committee of ten was exposed, and that he was arrested and executed in 1938.

<sup>1</sup>On page 10 a different Chinese character is used in Ma Hu-san's name.

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